

THE DEFENCE OF
IOB Throkmorton,

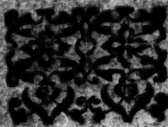
against the slanders of Maister Sutcliffe,
taken out of a Cōpye of his owne
handes it was winch to an
honorable Perfo-
mage.

Proverbs

30.8. The smelle of the ungodly is how they may be
winne for bloud: But the mouth of the
righteous will deliuer them.

29.20. Seest thou a man that is hastie to speake vn-
advisedly? There is more hope of a foole
then of him.

30.14. There is a generation whose teeth are as
swords, & their iawes as knives to deuoure
the poore and afflicted from the earth.



JOE THOMSON

against the members of the latter

1911

1903 11 17 12 00

honorable Pano-

1350

and the other is "The Life of the Rev. Dr. J. C. ..."

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The defence of Iob

Throckmorton, against the slanders of Maister Sutcliffe



Quon Madame, I thinke my selfe much bounde vnto you. La. that you would vouchsafe to make some paule, and to suspende your iudgement before you passed anie absolute verdicte against me. It is much I cōfesse in this swift censuring and prejudiciall age of ours, wherein mens willes & affections stande for statutes. Seeing then you are so desirous to know the truth, I will not (I assure you) hyde any thing from you that I can call to minde. And howe so ever for want of memorie (things being passed so long agoe) I may happellie faile in some wordes, time, or circumstance that are not materiall. I dare avowe vnto your La. that for the substance of the thing it selfe there is no yntutich in it at all. But even that which I will iustifie vpon mine othe, if I should be thereto called before the Parliament, or before the Lordes, which for my better clearing herein (being by this false and slanderous accusation so much injured as I am) is the thing I doe desire: protestinge vnto you, that I was so farr from being acquainted with anie of the twed practices of *Harker* and his accomplices, (as Maister *Sutcliffe* and the *Pretended Conspiracie* would seeme to insinuate) that I doe not remember that ever I did so much as see the man aboue once in my life.

As for *Syngers*, though I cōfesse, I had heard of him before by my cousine *Middlemore*, that dead is, who had in part discried vnto us the humour of the man, and the sick-

2. THE DEFENCE OF ION THOR.

ness of his braine) yet the first time that euer I sawe him, or had anie acquaintance with him, was on a Sabbath in Hillarie Terme before his fall 1590. At which time meeting him at the Blacke friers in the after noone, when the Lecture was done, he called me aside, telling me that hee would gladly speak with me, that his name was *Copinger*. I asked him what kinne he was to Maister *Ambrose Copinger* that serued sometime the Earle of Warwicke, he said, his owne brother, I tolde him I loued him the better for that. And so he would needes drawe me on with him to his lodging.

By the way, as we went, he asked me sundrie questions concerning my trouble, & the matter of my endightment, and howe I spedde. I tolde him, I hoped well, the rather because mine owne heart was a witnesse to me of mine innocencie. And then he fell from that to other matters, wherein he made me remember my couline *Middlemore* his wordes: for me thought he beganne to talke somethinge wilfully and strangely of th'ouerthrow of the BB. and th'ex-pelling of dumme ministers all at one clappe, with sundrie other reeling vagaries without sence, whereof I can not nowe call to minde euerie particular. But this among the rest I wel remember, that he tolde me he was in good hope, ere it were long, to bring my L. Treasurer about to lyke of his devise, unto which effect he said, he had written to his Honor of late, and looked for answer shortly, vnto all which (musinge with my selfe that he would thus boldly rushe vpon these matters, especiallie to a man that hee neuer sawe before) I saide like, Onlie I wished that in so great and waightrie affaires as those, he would be sure of his grounde and warrant before he attempted anie thing, and doe nothing of his owne head without th'advice of those that were wise and feared God. *I warrant you* (sayeth he) *I will be sure of my grounde: I will looke to that.*

When he came to his lodging, he tolde me it was a day
of

of priuate fast with him, and therevpon was verie importunate with me to haue prayed : which when I refused, because (as I tolde him) I would bee loth to take anie such thing in hand vpon a suddaine without premeditation, he casting me a cushion to kneele on, fell him selfe to pray after his manner : a thing wherein my Cousine *Middlemore* had tolde me before he tooke a singular delight, hauinge some conceite and opinion of his giste that way.

Loth I am (my good Lady) to be an ouerwift and haſtie cenſurer of anie mans praier, eſpeciallie in this cold and prophane age of ours, wherein men let not blaſphemouſſie to ſcorne and deride, as it were, the verie giſtes and graces of Gods ſpirit. But, if I ſhall tell you ſimplie and plainlie what I thinke, this praier of Maſter *Copingers* (though it were full of outwarde zeale and ſeruentneſſe, if not too ſeruent, becauſe he vſed many of theſe othes, loude ſighes and gronings, when as I conceiued the matter in weight, did nothing anſwere thoſe patheticall outcries) was not, me thought, ſquared after the rule of knowledge, neither in methode, matter nor manner, nor yet ſavouring of that humilitie and diſcretion, as were to bee wiſhed in ſo zealous a profeſſour as he made ſhewe of. It was very long and tedious, peſtered with many impertinent diſcouſſes and needleſſe repetitions of one and the ſame thing, ſtuffed and enterlarded with ſundrie bitter imprecations, about which he and I had no ſmall adoe, and ſome hote bickering within a while after. But the iſſue was, that hauinge caught ſome colde, and beeing nothing well before, this long kneeling and late tarying in that ſnowie and froſtie ſeaſon, did not helpe anie with to diminifhe, but rather to increaſe my grieſe, and brought me to a fitte of an ague.

Not long after this, when I had ſomething recovered my ſelfe, I went to viſite Maſter *Cart*. in the Fleete, vnto whom I ſignified what had paſſed betwixt Maſter *Cop-*

4. THE DIFFERENCE OF ION THROKA

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braine.

ger and me, and of the newe acquaintance that he would needes fasten and enforce vpon me. But he bade me in anie wise beware and take heed of him, for he feared him greatlie that certeinlie all was not well with him, and that he had
(*) *lesum principium*, at the least, telling me howe faine he would haue propounded & fastened some of his fooleries and phantasticall reuelations vpon him. But (sayeth he) *I haue returned him such an answer, as I beleue hee will not greatlie like vs, neither seeke to me in haste againe for resolution.*

After this hauing beene in the countrie, when I came vp againe to London, Maister Copinger meeting me in the streetes, tolde me that he had bene sundrie times at my lodging to seek me, but now I was come, he would visite me one of these dayes, and therevpon would needes knowe of me when he should be sure to haue me within. I tolde him I had much busines, and therefore could not well set him downe anie certeine time, but seeing I was a Legier heere, there would be time enough to meete before the Tearme were done. But he nor satisfied heerewith, did not giue ouer, in a maner day by day, yea and sometimes, as I vnderstoode, three or foure times a day, to seeke me at my lodging. Nowe perceyuing belike that I did as much as in me lay, of purpose to shunne and avoid him (as in deede vpon the warning of Maister Cars. and the former speeces of my Cousine Middlemore I did) he came one morning betime to my lodging before I was out of my bedde, and there he tolde me he had diuers things to shewe me of importance. *You shall see* (sayeth he) *that I haue not dallied or slept this gear, for I haue dealt, I tell you, with the highest.* And therevpon hee pulles me out of his bosome a bundle of papers, whiche were, the most of them, the copies of such letters, as he had eyther already written, or els had a purpose to write to seuerall persons for the furtherance of the cause, as he termed it. Among the which I remember there was one to my L.

Trea.

AGAINST THE SLAN. OF MA. SYTCLEFFE.

Treasurer, one to the Countesse of Warwicke, and within that, one to her maiestie. The effect of all which, to my remembrance, was of certaine horrible practises, treasons, & conspiracies intended against the Queene. And all these were onely indefinitlie set downe in a kinde of generalitie, without naminge or pointinge at anie particular, eyther of time, place, person or circumstance. More hee had recorded among those papers of his, th'answere that he tolde me he had receiued by woord of mouth, both from my L. Treasurer and the Countesse to this effecte, as I remember, *Let not Copinger builde vs castels in th' ayre, or feede vs with fantasies, fables, or dreames, but les him bring vs some grounded matter whereupon we may worke, and he shall well perceyue, he shall be backed against the greatest subject in the lande, &c.* Withall I remember he tolde me that that Letter to her Maiestie the Countesse kept still in her handes, and would in no wise deliuer it, till shee sawe some better matter to ground vpon. Sundrie other copies of letters he shewed me at that time, as namelie one as I thinke to his sister *Randoll*, one to Maist. *Egerton*, one to Maister *Cart*, one to Maister *Fuller*, another to Maister *Lancaster*, two to Maist. *Vdall*, with some others that I can not nowe call to minde. Neither, to speake the trueth, did I giue any great care vnto them, hauing at that instant some speciall busines, and therefore could the more willinglie haue spared his copanie. Yet this I noted among the rest, that there were fewe of those letters of his without some piece of imprecation or other, which founded strange in mine eares.

Nowe after he had thus shuffled ouer his letters and papers vnto me, he felt to discourse with me at large of certaine straunge revelations and apparitions that he had had of late, as namelie, Once in his bedde when his brother Maister *Ambrose Copinger*, and another Gentleman lay by him, He tolde me him selfe, that they that lay by him bee-

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ing awaked with the loude noise and groaning that hee made, as men something amazed at the strangenesse thereof, did call on him aloud, verely thinking him not to bee well in his wittes, *Whereas in trueth (sayeth he) I was inwardlie rauished in spirit, did groane in soule, and was talking with my God, who did most comfortably and gloriouslie appeare vnto me: yet they would by no meanes beleue it, but thought verely I had bene beside my selfe, &c.* And then he fell to vse many protestations, yea and imprecations vnto me, to perswade me of the trueth hereof: namely, that he for his part was as sure that the Lorde had reuealed sundrie thinges vnto him, poore worme of th'earth (for those were his words) as he was sure of his death. And euen here it was that I tooke occasion to deale with him so roundlie about those kinde of cursinges and imprecations that were so vsuall with him, aswell in his prayer, letters and speeches, as, *The Lorde confounde me, Let vengeance consume me, Let th'earth open and swallowe me, &c.* Whereof I was so farre (I tolde him) from seeing any warrant or exāple in the worde, that on the contrarie I thought they could not be vsed without a grieuous sinne and offence vnto the Maiestie of God. Concerning all which his defence, me thought, was most filie and pitifull, hauing nothing in the worlde to salue it with but onely *Extraordinarie, Extraordinarie.*

Wherevpon he fell in some earnest manner to question and expostulate with me, what I thought, whether all extraordinary callings were now ceased, & whether it were not possible that a man should haue anie particular reuelations in this age, aswell as in former times, greatly complaining that Maister Carr, and Maister Egerton, with all the godlie preachers about the Citie, aswell those in prison, as at libertie, should be of that iudgement, *That we were not to rest vpon anie of those extraordinary reuelations in this age, but rather to account of them as deceitfull suggestions of Sathan, &c.*

To which effecte I remember, as his custome was to haue his bosome full of papers, copies of letters, and such like, (because he saied he loued to keepe his reckonings about him, that he might walke surelie) he drew out certeyne notes, either of his owne hande, or of some of theirs, whereby was manifestlie refuted that fond opinion of his concerning reuelations: all which, as he shewed me one by one, so he forgate not to tell me still by the way, howe weake their reasons were, to this end (as it should seeme) that he might thereby, with more ease, fasten this conceite vppon me, and drawe me, if he could, to be of his minde.

Wherein, Madame, as in manie other things, albeit there bee good cause why I should be reasonably acquainted with mine owne weakenesse, yet finding my selfe (vpon the conference I had with Maister Cart. and others) sufficientlie armed, as I thought, to withstande a greater assault then this, I dealt plainlie and roundly with Maister Copinger, and did assure him for a full and flatte resolution, that for mine owne part I was altogether of the iudgement of those godlie Ministers he spake of, not that I did therein or in anie thing els, relye my selfe wholly vpon men; were they neuer so reuerend, but that I sawe no warrat for those his dreames and imaginations out of the worde. And nowe that the Lord had thus at large reuealed his will vnto vs, euen sufficient to make the man of God perfect, if mine owne Father were aliue and should tell me of anie other reuelations then that, I durst not hearken or giue care vnto him, being a thing verie daungerous and deceitfull for anie man to ground vppon. And therefore if I were as you, Maister Copinger (for those, I assure you, were my wordes vnto him) *I would rather suspecte this that you speake of to be some meere illusion of the Denill, then any sounde reuelation from God.* &c. Well, saith he, Maister Throk. (striking his hande vpon the deske that was by me) what so euer you and others doe thinke of the

strangenesse and impossibilitie hereof, I am out of doubt of the trueth of it, being more then once, or twice, and that after many conflicts, agonies and trials, assured thereof, euen by the holy ghost him selfe from heauen: and that the Lorde him selfe hath appointed me, for some speciall work of his to his glorie: In which speeches of his me thought I sawe some wilde and strange cast of his countenance.

Nowe when he sawe that after all these his perswasions, protestations, and fearfull imprecations, he could by no meanes fasten vpon me any liking of these his extraordinarie reuelations (though he often alleadged Maister *Knox*, and some others vnto me) he grew in th'end to this, that there was a worke to be done, for the Church, which the Lord would not haue wrought by such men of great giftes as Maister *Egerton*, Maister *Carr* and my selfe were (for so it pleased him to couple vs together.) But this must be effected, forsooth, by men of bale accompte, of no giftes, & such as are (as it were) the verie abiectes of th'earth: For euer, saith he, the Lorde woorketh the greatest woorkes by the weakest instruments. And herevpon it was that he began to commend and extoll this Hacket vnto me, as a very rare & notable man, and yet such a one as could not reade a letter on the booke: One that in deede had bene (as he saied) a vile and prophane wretch in his dayes, but was wonderfullie altered and come home. A man that would not sticke in all humilitie to acknowledge the sinne of his former life, with detestation, and was nowe become a conuert, forsooth, and a diligent hearer of the woord. To this effect (I assure you) and with manie moe wordes then I can well vter, did he blaze out the praises of this newe prophet of his. And then, seeing some others come vp to me about busines, he snatched vp his papers, and thrusting them into his bosome, he tooke his leaue for that time.

But you must vnderstande, Madame, that before this

conference of ours, he wrote vnto me, and finding belike that my answer was not to his satisfaction, he founde this meanes to steale vpon me, as I haue described. His letter was, to the very same effect as his speeches were, to witto: *That he hoped to liue to doo some seruice to the Church of God. That what so euer perswasions men used vnto him to desist and breake off his course, yet he had no cause to be discouraged, because he had his warrant from heauen: Further, that with the Lorde the greatest workes were euer brought to passe by the weakest instrumenties, &c.* Implying & enforcing still that this Hacket, forsooth (whom all this while I neuer sawe nor heard of, but by Copingers report) must be the man that must doe the feate, because hee was a weake one and vnlearned.

Vnto this letter of his (purposelie to aduise him to beware what he did, and to looke before he leapt) I wrote him that answer which they haue now in their handes, and which Maister Copinger kept in his bosome among other papers, euen the same that desperate Maister Sutcliffe, and the Pretended conspiracie, haue thus printed and published by patches and pieces, with so manie &c. I muse they would not publishe it altogether, as it was, vnmangled, It had sure bene a great deale fairer play, especiallie in a cause that concernes (as is pretended) a mans life, credite and good name. I thanke God, Madame, if they doe not adde or enlarge, or if they doe not curtaile it, clippe it, enterline it, and transforme it, I doe not feare the view of that letter to be presented at anie time, before the Lordes, and my selfe to be censured and punished, as they in their wisdomes shall thinke my ouersight that way to deserue. For vnlesse I greatlie deceyue my selfe, the very shreades of that letter, which they haue thus dismembred, renting one clause from another, yea, and, by their leaue, altering and ouerstrayninge some wordes too, doe notwithstanding (if they be rightly weighed) sufficienlie cleare me in th'eies of all vnpartiall and in-

different minded men. And yet it may be they knowe that the whole letter would haue cleared the suspition much more, Therefore vtterly to suppress that whiche would cleare a Puritane most was for them the wisest though peradventure not the conscionablest course.

It may be (and it is like enough if they haue all his papers) that they haue also another short letter of mine in aunswere to another of Maister Copingers, who writing vnto me thus: *Deare brother, I hope ere it be long, you shall see an alteration: I answered him euen vnder the same letter, both in one paper thus: Such an alteration as would breede a reformation and not a confusion, I would be hartlie glad of, and I doe daily pray for.* Seeing they are so ful of their printing, I ~~would~~ wishe they had bene so kind-harted to haue printed this too.

couell.

Nowe that your Honor may the better iudge, whether I be herein injured or no, or whether it be vpon the spleene (as it were) without cause, that I doe thus complaine, It may please you a little to consider with me of these fewe particulars ensuing.

First, whereas Maister Copinger in his letter seemed to be sorie that I should be one of those that did condemne his course, and I assured him that as I was not ouer hastie to condemne him in a matter that I knew not of, nor had anie acquaintance with, but only hearde of at the second hand, as it were, by certeine buzzes & flying reportes abroad, &c. All that former part of my letter, & those wordes that make so manifestly and apparauntlie for my clearing, and wherein I doe vtterlie disavowe all knowledge and acquaintance with those courses of his (because they would so faine haue me seeme guiltie) is quite left out & suppressed: not a word of that I warrant you.

Then whereas the whole drift and scope of my letter is a meere dissuasion of Maister Copinger to goe on with anie sole or singular course of his owne head, and that hee take
both

both his eyes in his handes, and be sure of his ground before he strue to put any thing in execution: they haue laboured to invert all, straying and stretchinge both my words and meaning quite against the haire, as may appeare by their marginall note *strue to put in execution?* whereby they would make the world beleue (if they could) that *Throk.* was no dissuader, but rather an encourager and egger on of *Copinger*, to put in execution that which before he had conceived in his braine.

And now to mende the matter, in the necke of this comes Maister *Sutcliffe* with his vie, offring me full as hard measure as all this comes too, and thereof I make your La. the iudge. For whereas in the feeling and experience of mine owne weaknesse and wantes, I dare not boast nor take vpon me the name of a sanctified heart, he verie kindly, I thanke him, setteth his brand vpon me in the margin in this manner: *A sanctified Puritane.* The thing that I doe apparantlie disavowe and renounce as not daring to boast of, it pleaseth him, in his girding manner, to vpbraied me with, as if I did arrogantlie assume it vnto my selfe: so that you see I can escape him no way. Nay it seemeth he is so eger and sharpe sett to snappe and bite at me, that he will not giue me leaue to speak sometimes the very language of *Chanaan*: no not as the holy Ghost him selfe speaketh in the Scripture, but I shall beare a blowe for it. Him selfe knoweth (I doubt not) better then I, that it is th'vsuall phrase with the Hebrewes to say, *The first Moneth: The fyste Moneth: The seauenth Moneth: The nienth Moneth.* And albeit I holde it not vnlawfull to name and write the Monethes as we vsuallie doe, as *March, Aprill, May, &c.* So yet for a man once or twice in his life to vse the phrase of the holy Scripture, and say, *The fift Moneth*, should not, me thinkes, in equitie (if it be rightly weighed) deserue so great a reproch. And I muse if Maister *Sutcliffe* should comment vpon the tenth chapter

of Ezra, where it is said, *That the people sat downe and trembled before the Lord the twentieth day of the ninth moneth.* And againe, *Th' auncient heades sat downe to examine the matter, the first day of the tenth Moneth.* I muse, I saye, if he should comment vpon this, whether he would therevpon make such a marginall glosse, as he hath done vpon my poore letter, *This is the newe absurde Consistorian stile.*

Wherein yet your La. may see howe easlie a wise man may ouerslip him selfe in his distemperature. For if it be true that this manner of writinge, *The fourth Moneth, The first Moneth, The eight Moneth, &c.* (which is so ill taken and so scornefullie disgasted by Maister Sutcliffe) bee not onely the phrase of poore Maister Calvin, or Beza, or barelie a *Germanian* deuise (for then, I feare me, he would goe nighe to treade it vnder his fete, and rent the record with his teeth,) but also th' usuall phrase of the Bishops them selues, in the translation of their great Bibles, commaunded and enioyned to be reade in Churches. If this, I say, may be prooued (as it is manifest and apparaunt to all that will not wilfullie muffle them selues) then must it needs be that he hath herein, in a sorte, done him selfe a piece of iniurie, and that in leuelling thus greedilie at me, he hath vnadvisedly rushed vpon some of his dearest friendes, whom I am sure he would be loth to offende. If he say that they doe but translate so, and I doe write so: It will be but a filie & slender voydance of the matter. For, I hope, he will not say that his Graue fathers doe either in their writing or in their translation vse anie, *Newe, absurde, Puritane or Consistorian stile*, which, hee knowes, they might easlie auoid, if there were anie such absurditie in the matter as hee would beare vs in hande, and translate for *The first Moneth, March.* For the seconde *Aprill*, and so of the rest, if it pleased them. Therefore if Maister Sutcliffe should say neuer so constantly, nay if hee should sweare vnto me, that this maner of writing were *absurd* and

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Confistorianlike, he must pardon me, I could not belecue it, my reason is, because the Bishops them selues doe vse it. And where doe they vse it? Euen there, where I presume they would be most affraied to vse anie straunge, absurd, or vnwarrantable speech, to wit, in the holy scriptures of God, which they know are to bee handled with all pietie and reuerence, as may most tende to th'edification of the people of God. If then it be in no sorte absurde in them, no more, say I, can it be in me, seeing the very same phrased that I haue vsed but once onely in my Letter, they haue vsed in their translation aboue twentie times, and yet it were heard, he knowes, to coumpt them eyther Precisians or Disciplinarians for all that.

By this, Madame, and the rest, your La. may easilie see, that I am both vncharitable and vnchristianlie dealt with. And yet to speak indifferentlie, I ought not in some regard to thinke much of it, or take it to harte, when so reuerend a man as Maister *Egerton* is, (for whose holy prayers I doe not doubt but her Maiestie and the whole State doeth prosper the better) can by no meanes escape the sting of their envenomed mouthes.

It may be your La. hath heard howe learnedly & roundlie Maister *Sutcliffe* did confute him of late in Pawles, euen since the publishing of his last declamation, and that to his face before D. *White*, and others. I was not by my selfe, but if it be as I haue heard, the speeches were so opprobrious, as I am halfe ashamed to set downe with my penne, remembering the person against whom they were vttered. They were neither Greeke nor Hebrewe, nor yet scarce any congruittie of good manner, but (sauing your reuerence, Madame) plaine *Scabbe*, and *scurvey Iacke*. In which veine of kitchen rhetorike, if they would giue me leaue also to followe the sway of fleshe and bloud, me thinkes I could easilie without anie great sweate or paines (if there were no boundes

boundes of modestie to reſtraine me) learne to confute the honeſteſt man, and the greateſt Clarke in Chriſtendome.

But this is not all : For both he and the Conſpiracie doe drefſe him another way, though in words nothing ſo groſſe, yet in weight and conſequent full as bytingly as this, & that by a certeine pretie conveiance or ſleight of a finger called *Inverſio*. For whereas Maiſter Egerton's perſwaſion to Maiſter Copinger was (as I have heard) to this effecte and in this forme, to wit, *That albeit he would bee loth to quenche the Spirit, or kill any zeale in him, eſpecially in this colde and frozen age of ours, wherein for the moſt parte men had ſo litle hunger and thirſt after the worde: yet he was certainly perſwaded that thoſe ſuppoſed reuelations of his were nothing els but meere illuſions of Satan, whoſe ſubiiltie he ſhould in anie wiſe beware of, leaſt he were ſeduced and miſlead by him, &c.* Whereas, I ſay, his ſpeeches were thus framed, howe doeth Maiſter Sutcliffe and *The pretended Conſpiracie* handle the matter? Why, euen thus Madame, and I pray you marke it for your learninge, becauſe it may ſerue your La. for a handſome paterne to meaſure all the reſt by. They play *Hyleſeron proſeron* with him, that is, they turne the catte into the pannie, ſetting the cart before the horſe, bringing in that firſt which ſhould be laſt, and that laſt whiche ſhould be firſt, to wit, *That he ſhould wiſely and circumſpectlie take heed he were not miſlead by the ſubtilty of Sathan, &c.* But withall (ſay they) the ſaied Maiſter Egerton concluded, *that he would be loth to quenche the ſpirit of God in him, or hinder his zeale.* And why trowe you was this brought in laſt for a conſequence, which was in deede as the preamble and firſt entrance into his ſpeech? Becauſe otherwiſe, it may be, it would not have wounded this *Renowned Paraphraſt* deepe inough, nor have ſtucke by his ribbes ſo long. But nowe martialled, as it is, in the rereward and ſo laſt in the eie, It is like enough to leaue the deeper impreſſion and remembraunce in mens breſts, that certeinlie, this *Egerton* (though he uſed a little faire ſlo-
riſhe

rishe in the beginning) was yet verie vnwilling that *Copinger* should detest and giue ouer his course, and therefore it was that he would quenche no zeale in him. And howe thinke you, Madame, was not this nimble and charitably contriued against so reuerend a Minister of the word.

But yet me thinke that which doeth exceede all the rest in weight of malice, and doeth most lay open the very sting and venime of the heart is this, that Maister *Sutcliffe* will needes make him a misliker, and, as it were, an envier of her Maiesties Honorable, Princelike, and Roiall apparance in the beginning of the Parliament: A thing that I dare sweare is faire from his heart, and therefore what so euer it shall please Maister *Sutcliffe* to saye in this regarde, (yea though he should heerein write against him till his eyes were dimme) yet I am perswaded he shall neuer while hee liues, gette anie man of conscience and iudgement, that knowes the man, to beleue it: Nay, I durst, me thinkes, pawne my life vpon it (and so I doubt not would many of my betters) that there is no man liuinge vnder the sunne, that doeth more from his heart desire the true blessednesse of her Maiestie, namelic, that shee might bee beloued of God, and highlie honored in the eyes of men, then doeth Maister *Egerton*, as may sufficientlie appeare, both by his daily teaching and prayers, whereof there are witnesses enough, though I should be silent. Notwithstandinge all which Maister *Sutcliffe* (as a man that cares not what he say, so he may be byring) will proue it otherwise, you shall see, and that forsooth out of his owne Letter to his brother *Ferne*, pag. 199. For doeth he not saye there, That shee went thither *meta polles phantasias*, that is, (as he interpretes it) with great ostentation and pompe. Which wordes (sayeth he) *Saint Paul vseth condemning the vanitie of Agrippa and Beronice*. Wherein, Madame, eyther through his hast, or through the heate and vnrulinesse of his passions. (for I will neuer at-

tribute it to his want of iudgement) he hath made vs at the least two or three foule vnavoydable slippes. For firste, whereas hee will needes haue the woordes to bee Saint *Paulus*, he must giue vs leaue for once (because he is a tra- ueler) to aunswere him with the *sauf vostre grace Monsieur*, Saint *Paule*, we dare warrant, hath no such woordes: The woordes in deede that he hath there quoted, are Saint *Lukes*. Who, I take it, was the penner of the storie of th'actes and not Saint *Paule*. Secondlie, to omitte the slippe of *Beronice* (who dwelles sure either in *Rome* or in *Portugale*, for in *Ierusalem* or in the Scripture there is none such to be founde I beleeeue) where he sayeth the woordes are vsed by Saint *Paule* in condemnation of the vanitie of *Agrippa*, by his fauour and vnder correction we denie that, that, we say, is but his owne comment and conceite, neither are the woordes, as we thinke, vsed to anie such end as he supposeth, to wit, to reprocue and reproche the king with, but onely as a bare and plaine declaration and laying open of the trueth of that Royall pompe and magnificence, whiche is both vsuall and allowable in great Princes and States in their solemne as- semblies. And that this is true, (if poore Maister *Beza*, *Iuni- us*, *Vallerius*, *Camerarius*, and such as they be, were not of late by straunge mishappe flatlie excommunicated by Maister *Suscliffe* for their ignorance and want of iudgement) I could easilie put him out of doubt. For Maister *Bezas* woordes vpon the place be these: *Hic quidem certum est hoc nomine de- clarari speciosum regia magnificentia splendorem in spectantium ocu- los incurrentem*, &c. that is to say, *Haere it is manifest, that in this worde phantasias is layed open vnto vs the beautifull glitte- ring and glorious excellencie of that Royall Magnificence, that doeth flashe, as it were, into the eies of the beholders*, &c. Further in the marginall note vpon *Tremelius*, published, as I thinke, by al- lowance of the state, this worde *phantasias* is thus interpre- sed, *id est Regio apparatus*, that is, in Princely preparation and fur-

niture

niture, which can in no sort be taken in ill sense. All which Maister Beza seemes to fortifie and confirme by th'authoritie and testimonie of sundrie auncient and learned Greeke writers, as namelic, *Aristotel*, *Hippocrates*, *Possidonius*. And if this be so, Madame, then iudge you, I pray you, who was more to blame he which simplie and barelie laies downe the wordes of the storie (which the verie best interpreters doe take in good sense) or hee that thus vnconscionable wresteth and wringeth them to make a man so well deseruing of Gods Church, seeme thrice odious and hatefull to the State.

All which considered, it seemes more then straunge to me, that *Sutcliffe* should be so egle-cieda censurer of other mens labours, and in the meane season, eitheir thorough th'inflamation of the stomacke, or through the heate and vnrulinesse of his affections, lay him selfe open to so manie palpable advantages as he doeth. I confesse my selfe to be no match for him, neither haue I anie purpose to buckle with him that way, being as he is, a great deale to hotte and to harde for me, and it may be, much better armed to mainteine an error, then such a one as I to defende a trueth. But yet as a stander-by and not as one that hath anie skill to handle the weapon ~~my~~ selfe, me thinkes I could easilie spie a farre of, where he might be caught and crossebitten, if anie man of abilitie and iudgement would vouchsafe to take him in hande. For prooffe whereof in the verie first leafe of that inuestiue preface of his to my L. Anderson, where he so strayneth and striueth to make Maister *Fenners* and Maister *Cartwrightes* diuinite no better then herisie, You may easilie discern(e if you please Madame) howe the maister countroller of others, hath manifestlie broached vs, a piece of straunge and new-founde diuinitie him selfe. *All religions* (sayeth hee) *teache, that the Sonne is borne of the Father, which is the Characteristicall difference of that person.* Can

you tell what to make of this, Madame? If you can not, no more, I belecue, can hee that coined it. I confesse I haue read in my dayes (and it is a parte of my faith still) *That the Sonne was begotten of the Father before all worldes: But borne of the Father* (as we in our English tongue vnderstande it) I doe not belecue is to be founde in anie creede in the world, but onelie in this newe *Sutclivian Creede* of ours.

Further, I can not but mize that ~~he~~ being a scholler, as hee is, would euer suffer *Difference of the Person* to passe the print, without some revocation, razure, or correction, seeinge it was neuer heard of, I trowe, before nowe that in the God-head, there should be anie *difference* of the persons at all, but onelie a *distinction*. Sure if one of these Puritanes had written thus, we should haue had olde adoo, I belecue. As to that other newe refined and farre sette phrase of his of *Characteristicall*, being so pregnant and proper for the place where it is sette, because I see neither diuinitie nor sense in it, nor am able to discernie why it should come in rusteling heere, vnlesse it be onely for the bare noise and sounde of it, I willinglie leaue it to those that be of a deeper reach than my selfe to make somewhat of it. But one of the speciall things that I would wishe your La. and all others to note in Maister Sutcliffe is this, that among the writers of our age, you shall not lightlie finde a more bolde, peremptorie and resolute man in the worlde then hee. For prooffe whereof, marke I pray you, howe of one of the worthiest and most accomplished diuines of our age, and of that conference that for the excellencie of the worke, is thought by the learned to be vnmatchable, (as if his worde, or a cast of his countenance were sufficient to change the face of the heauens, and to turne light into darkenesse) he giueth this flight and brazen censure, to witte, *That it was long forsooth and without effecte*. What must such men as I looke for at his
hands,

handes, when such workes as that is and such men as Maister Reynolds is, are of no greater account and estimation in his eyes? But I doo not thinke Madame, that there is a nle man in the worlde (if he be not smitten with the giddynesse of the braine) that is of his iudgment concerning that Conference. Neither doo I see for mine owne part (if the matters therein handeled with the circumstances be advisedly looked into) howe he could possible haue bin shorter, but he must withall haue bene much darker and intricate. As to the litle effecte he speakes of, Ma. Surcliffe must pardon me, I will neuer beleue, that all that euer he hath written or can write while he liues, will euer worke the like effecte in the hartes of men for the confutation of poperie, & the confirmation of the Princes true and lawfull Supremacie, as that one worke alone hath done. But alas, Madame, howe shall we doe now? Maister Surcliffe thinks not so, and where be we then? For what soeuer he avoucheth true or false, right or wrong, blacke or white, It is bound straight (if you marke it) with *All Antiquitie, All the Fathers, All Diuinitie*. If he say it once, there must bee no stragging at it, we must receyue it forthwith as an oracle from his mouth, be it neuer so sottish: As your Honor may plainlie see by this newe Characteristickall sentence of his, to witte; *That the Sonne was borne of the Father: Which* (sayeth he) *the Characteristickall difference of that person*. What can be more absurd and senseles then this? And yet ~~it~~ *is* countenanced and guided as it is, with Maister Surcliffes coulers, that is, with *All Religion saith it, All Religion saith it*, It must, you see, marche on without an encounter, or els there will be no hoe with him.

And yet for his owne sake I would this were the worst thing in him, then should neuer, I trowe, so many innocent and guilelesse haue bene thus vily and injuriouslie besprinkled with the gall and vineger of his penne, as haue

bene of late to the triumphe and reioycing of th'adversarie,
 and to the griefe of those that loue the truth. And surelie,
 Madame, when I lay before me this deadly sting and blou-
 die minded drift of Maister *Sutcliffe* (for I can call it no bet-
 ter) in that he would so faine haue Maister *Cart*. and Mai-
 ster *Egerton*, with so manie woorthie men, to be traitours &
 conspiratours with *Hacket*, and Maister *Vdall* (for the pure
 loue he beares him) honored with the gibbet, I could, me
 thinks, in ~~that~~ regard (if I had anie acquaintance with
 him) finde in my harte to befriende him a little with my
 poore aduise, if I thought hee would take it well at my
 handes, to witte, *That seeing the Revenger of th'innocent and*
afflicted is mightie, and able, as he knowes, to grinde their op-
 pressors and backbitors into powder, he would (for all this
 huffing and heate of distemperature) at length yet bethinke
 him selfe, and beware howe he goes on anie further in his
 vnchristianlike veine of bytinge and bitterness, especiallie
 against such men whom their greatest adversaries (if they
 haue not quite abandoned all modestie and shamefastnesse)
 doe yet sometimes reverentlie account of: as may appeare
 by the late politicke treatise of Mai. *Hookers*, who (though
 hee bee almost distasted with the *Discipline*, and, for anie
 thing I see, as stronglie bewitched, and euerie way as deepe-
 lie interessed in the case of the *Hierarchie*, as Maister *Sut.*)
 doeth yet in wordes at least (and I hope from his hearte)
 vouchsafe to honor them and beblesse them with manie
 reuerent and brotherlie tearmes, as *Right well affected, and*
most religiouslie inclined mindes, and such like: And yet me
 thinks, to speake indifferentlie, they should not bee verie
 well affected neither if they should be as Maister *Sutcliffe*
 would haue them, that is, guiltie of anie practise or conspi-
 racie against her Maiestie. Wherevpon, if I might, I would
 gladlie knowe for my learning, what point of Cosmogra-
 phie Maister *Sutcliffe* holdes this to bee, namelic, to presse
 men

men so egerly (as he doeth) to the defence of the cause, asking them whether they be quite spent, and haue nothing to lay, but must be faine (poore men) to sende ouer to *Germany* for helpe, and in the meane season by the verdure and venime of his penne to drawe, as it were, a kinde of en-
dightment of treason and conspiracie against them, and so to put them to the iumpe and defence of their liues. A good round readie way to silence and refute men, I trowe: As if it were wisdom or godlie policie for a State to suffer traitours and conspirours eyther to write bookes, or defend anie thing by disputation: Yet me thinkes, it were much fairer play and an euerer course, a great deale, to cleare them of treason first, and then to tender them the chalenge and disputation after wardes, then thus to throw out the gauntlet and charrell of defiance with one hande, and to shake the halter and shewe ^{then} the hatchet with th'other, or rather in plaine tearmes to doe what in him lieth to cut in sunder their windpipe first, and then to aske them why they whoppe not or lewre not afterward.

For this cause if I thought there were anie man to be founde in this age, so sober and well qualified, that might heerein be a director to a man of Maister *Satchesse* constitution, I would then entreate him, that when hee writes againe, he would make either Maister *Hooker*, or some one discrete man of his owne side, his glasse and diall or direction, for the better temperature of his penne, beinge enough and enough, even in conscience (if not more then enough) that he hath thus runne him selfe out of breath allreadie: and vlesse hee should burne a newe the temple of *Diana*, I doe not see howe hee can make him selfe more famous then he hath done by this newe emblasure of his. In which regard it is sure to somebody, I trowe, that Maister *Hooker* writes, whē he so solemnely adviseth & admonisheth men, *To lay aside the gall of that bitterness wherein their mindes*
have

Yane hitherto over abounded, and with mocknesse to seek the truth,
 Yea and it seemeth by the whole course of his booke,
 that there is no man in the worlde (if we may beleue him)
 Immortuall of loue with an envenomed penne, which is
 the discrier of the poison of the heart, then he. And ther-
 fore if in this good counsell of his, he did not speciallie and
 particularlie, and as it were, by name leuell at his brother
Sutcliffe above others, I must needs say hee was too harde
 and partially bounde about thees. For though for mine
 owne part I be sufficientlie perswaded, and my heart tho-
 roughlie settled in the truth of the cause, notwithstanding
 a whole librarie of bookes should be written against it (and
 the more that is written in that kinde, and the more dis-
 grades that are thus maliciously disgorged out against the
 defendours thereof, the more I am confirmed) yet dare I
 passe this promise to Maister *Hooker*, or to any man living
 of his complexion, that if among all those that haue hither-
 to sued for reformation, he can picke me out but one that is
 comparable to Maister *Sutcliffe*, in that sea of bitterness, and
 overflowing of the gall he speakes of, I will forth with yeeld
 him the bucklers, and passe him my recantation vnder scale.

So ~~that~~ shall be sure to say that which I belecue Maister
Sutcliffe will neuer be able to say ~~that~~, that hee hath
 wonne one *Disciplinarian* to the faith of the *Hierarchie*. All
 which considered, I could wish that Maister *Sutcliffe* would
 something recall him selfe while he hath time and space,
 and in remorse of that which is past, strike his hande vpon
 his breast, to some blushing and repentance (if it might
 be) before the day of his visitation, remembring that one
 of the speciall things that the holy ghost marketh out as ab-
 horred of the Lorde, is, *A proude heart, a lying tongue, and*
handes that are swifte to sheede innocent blood.

I come

I come nowe againe to Maister Copinger, who after hee had thus written vnto me, and I had thus answered him as before is set downe, found means to steale vpon me once more at my lodging, pressing me very earnestlie to be acquainted with that man (meaning *Hacket*) whom he had before so highlie commended vnto me, redoublinge his speaches, loading me with a newe supplie of his prayles, especiallye of his gift in prayer beyond all that euer he heard. He tolde me that he was nowe in the towne, and that hee would bring me to him if I would; his lodginge was not farre from Smithfield: I tolde him I was so troubled, and in a maner oppressed with busines, that I could not be at anie leisure, neither could I appoint him anie time, as he would faine haue had me. Well yet (sayeth he) doe me that fauour as but heare him pray once before you go out of the town. I can not certeinlie promise you that neither (saied I) but if I be at anie leisure, and may convenientlie, I will, and so we parted.

But heere by the way, I had like to haue forgotten that which of all others is most woorthie the remembraunce, namely, his discourse of the first greeting and meeting betwixt him & this newe Sainct of his, which, to my remembrance was thus: *That he hearing of th' vnsaigned conversion of the man, with the simplicitie of his heart, and the rare giftes that God had lent him, being a man vnlearned, did write him a letter to come vp:* Which *Hacket* accomplished accordinglie. As soone as they mette, after some salutations, *Copinger* signified vnto him what revelations he had had of late, howe the Lord had sundrie times appeared vnto him from heauen, but he could gette no man hereabouts to beleue him, that there was anie such thing in trueth, but that all was a meere illusion of Sathan. No (sayeth *Hacket*) *will they not beleue it? But I will beleue it, and will prooue it to them, for I my selfe haue had reuelations, and straunge reuelations too.* Wherevpon I re-

member Maister Copinger glaunced a little at Maister Egerton and Maister Carr. that they would by no meanes be perswaded of the truth of these things, whereas this simple man did at the firste both conceiue of it, giue credite to it, and was readie by his owne experience to iustifie it. And this verifies (sayeth he) that which I tolde you before, that the Lord will not haue this worke brought to passe by anie other then by the simplest and weakest. And then he tolde me howe that vpon these speaches of *Hacket*, he burning in desire to knowe what those revelations of his were, pressed him verie earnestlie to tell him. But *Hacket*, seeing him so sharpe sett, to giue him, as it were, the keener edge, and the greater longing, did purposelie (as it should seeme) keepe him fasting, and helde of telling him, that there was a time for all things, he had not now long to staye in the towne, but he should knowe more shortlie, for the present let this suffice him, *That there were manie strange practises and wonderfull treasons a brewing against the Queene.*

Heerevpon it was that *Copinger*, after *Hacket* was gone downe into the Countrie, wrote those same letters that I before mentioned, to witte, vnto her Maiestie, the Countesse of *Warwicke*, and my L. Treasurer, from whom hauing receiued that answere that I haue heere set downe, namely, *That he should bring with him some grounded matter to worke vpon*, he writes me againe in all post haste to his newe prophet, willing him to come vp, with all possible speede, for he had broken the yce, forsooth, now was the time or neuer. Wherevpon *Haket* came vp, and was by his meanes (as he tolde me) brought before my Lo. Treasurer. In whose presence he so behaued him selfe, falling flatte on his face, groueling, groaning, and foming at the mouth, that my L. seeing him, should say: *What hasti Copinger brought me, a mad man heere?* My Lord (saied he) thought he had bin madde, whereas he, no doubt, was inwardlie ravished in soule, and

rapt

rape vp into the third heauen as *Paul* was: whereat smiling with my selfe, I asked him what became in the meane season of all those great treasons and practises that were thus extraordinarie revealed vnto *Hacket*, and he vpon *Hackets* worde, had thus ventured to make knowne to those great personages. I looked (saied I) that vpon this appearaunce before my Lo. Treasurer, we should haue heard newes of them. He tolde me, that if they could haue obteyned that they hoped for, namelie a warrant & commission to search and bolt out the truth of thinges, we should haue hearde more ere this, being perswaded in his soule, that it would haue fallen out, to haue bene one of the best seruices that euer was vndertaken for the Lande. Wherevpon when I told him that it seemed strange vnto me, that a man should take in hande to waken th'cares of great Counsellours with I knowe not what noise of complottes & conspiracies first, and then to sue for a commission to enquire afterwarde: He choked me straight with his old comon place of *Extraordinarie*, *Extraordinarie*, telling me that we were not to draw presidents of those things wherof there was no rule: wher vnto I replied, that though their supposed revelations were (as they saied) *Extraordinary*, yet the comission to enquire, that they would so faine haue had, was *Ordinarie*: and therefore I mused that such extraordinarie men as they, would flie to such common and ordinarie helpes. Well (saith he) it may be you shall heare more when the time comes. And so he departed.

After this, hauing bene to seeke Maister D. *Chippingdale*, *Copinger* meetes me by chaunce in Pawles Chaîne, and taking me by the arme, whispered me in th'care, telling me that the man he spake to me of, was nowe harde by, removed from his olde lodging into Knight rider streete. I tolde him I had much businesse, he sayed I should not stay, but onely see the man, & iudge of his gife in prayer, if I would,

which he knewe I would admire. Vpon his importunacie (I speake it not Madame, in anie great praise of my self, because hauing such warning as I had, I might haue bene better aduised) yet thinking it strange that a man, not able to reade, should haue such an extraordinarie gifte as he spake of (though vpon the former taste of Maister *Copingers* poore iudgement, I did partlie feare before hande, what I should finde) I went, I confesse, with him. And this was the first & the last time that euer I sawe *Hacket* in my life. And to speak the trueth, this verie once was enough to distaste anie man of neuer so meane iudgement, I belecue, vnlesse he were bewitched, because the verie puffing and swelling of his face, the staring and gogling of his eyes, with his gahstlie countenance, did, me thought, sufficientlie decipher out vnto me, what was in the man, at the first sight. And heere also at this time I founde *Arthington*, whom to my remembrance I neuer sawe aboue once before in my life. But conference I neuer had anie with him, as hee him selfe best knowes, who is yet liuing to witnesse whether I lie or no. When I was come vp to the chamber, *Copinger* tolde *Hacket* that the Gentleman could not stay, and therefore desired him he might be partaker of his prayer. Wherevpon *Hacket* clapping to the dore, fell without anie more adoe, to his prayer, euen (for all the worlde) as a man should haue fallen to his sworde and buckler.

But if I shall not lie vnto you, Madame, such a piece of prayers did no man liuing, I thinke, euer heare. It was much like the wildegoose chase, neither heade nor foote, rime nor reason. In steede of desiring God to be present with vs, he desired him to be absent from vs, and so, for anie thing I knowe, he was, vnlesse it were in his hande of iudgement to punish vs: for concerning anie blessing to befall vs, sure I am, he was not present with vs, at that time. Many strange stoppes and pawles he had in his prayer, and that a preatie
while

while together, saying nothing but onelie groaned & murmured to him selfe, and then he would suddainlie burst out into some passionate outcrie and exclamation against those wicked *Hamans* and Traytours to God and the Queene, for that was a great woord with him. As to his manner and gesture, it was, me thought, full as strange as the prayer it self, speaking sometimes in a kinde of lowe and base voice; and sometimes againe in so high a voice, that I thinke he might easelie haue bene heard into the streets: yet were the most of his wordes vttered with much earnestnes and seruenzie, with puffinges and beatinges in a kinde of snatching manner, as if he had bene halfe vwindlesse, and out of breath. And howsoeuer other men iudge of him, I must confesse I haue liued to see him a kinde of prophet in deede in the right successe and event that his prayer had. For as execrations and imprecations were vsuall with him, so I remember this sweete sentence among the rest, *O Lord thou knowest, thou hast revealed sundrie things to me, which thou hast kept backe from the mightie ones of the worlde, and if this be not true, let thy vengeance and visible confusion fall vpon me.* This I say, I expresse noted. And hauinge liued to see that I haue done, namely, such a sensible hande of God vpon him, in giuing him ouer to ende his dayes in that most shamefull and desperate manner as he did, with so manie horrible blasphemies without repentance. Who can denie but that *Hacket* was a right reader of destinies, and concerning him selfe a prophet. While he was in his prayer, *Copinger* and *Arthington* did bestowe the most of the time in a straunge kinde of sighing, humming and groaning, & that manie times verie loude. When his prayer was done, which to mee was a great deale to long, vnlesse it had bene more savorie (and to tell you the verie truth, Madame, I sate, me thought, vpon thornes, and was not quiet in my selfe, till I was out of the chamber, fearing, when I heard him thunder and curse in

that maner, least the floore should haue falle on our heads. I tolde them I had hastie busines, and so tooke my leaue & gladd in my heart that I was gone. I remember *Hackets* last wordes to me at my farewell, were these, *I should beare more shortlie*, and so in deede I did. For the next newes I heard, was, that they were vp in a cart in *Cheape-side*, and so were apprehended, and their great *Mahomet* brought to that end, as all men knowe, and he best deserued.

Now when I was come my way from hearing this man of the rare gift, Maister *Copinger* followed me, and bringing me a little along the streete, he iogged me on the elbow, and asked me in mine eare, what I thought of the mans gift, & whether he were not an excellent fellowe: I tolde him, I mused what should moue him to thinke so, because I sawe no order at all in his prayer, but a meere confused heape of wordes without sappe. And then I beganne to enter into some particulars with him, as what should be the reason, or howe it might be iustified, that a man should dare to offer vp his prayers to God without anie acknowledgement of his sinne and vnworthinesse, as at that time *Hacket* neuer did, neither in generall nor in particular. Again, I asked him what warrant anie man had to vse anie of those imprecations and bitter cursinges of him selfe in his prayer, whereof there was neither rule nor warrant in the whole Scripture of God. Vnto all which his aunswere was still one and the same, not vnlike to the rest of his resolutions: *Oh* (sayeth he) *you must consider it is extraordinarie, extraordinarie: And I am verely perswaded, Maister Throkmoreton, that as Iohn Baptist was the fore-runner of our Saviour in the fleshe: So this man is the very fore-runner of our Saviour in iudgement.* At which wordes of his, I confesse, I was something amazed, and looking vpon him (remembring Maister *Cartwrightes* former speaches vnto me) I could not but pitie the man, with this resolution, neuer to come at him againe, nor anie of

of his confederates (if I could avoid them) while I liued. And thus parted Maister Copinger and I, being the last time that euer I sawe him: who, as laire as I coniecture, returned backe againe at that verie instant to *Hacket*, because I sawe him bende that way.

Not long after this I went to *Ensfelde* to visite my cousin *Middlemore*, that then was verie yll, vnto whom I reported at large the truth of the whole, as I haue heere set downe, and howe at Maister Copingers earnest intreatie I heard *Hacket* pray, and of the maner of his prayer, &c. And I remember his wordes, and shall doo while I liue, to witte, *That he feared he would come to some ill ende*, whiche hee gathered by those bitter cursinges and execrations that were so vsuall with him.

Nowe when I came backe againe to London, I founde this short letter at my lodgings, which Ma. Copinger wrote vnto me from *Knightrider streete*, and which Maister *Sutcliffe* (I thanke him) hath taken the paines to print and reprint, to wit, *That much hath bene done since they sawe me, which I would reioyce to heare of, That they desire conference with mee, That the busines is the Lords owne, That some of the enemies of God beganne to be hotely pursued by Satan, &c.* For so was it in my letter, though in their printed copie it be *pursued by God, &c.* That I receyued such a letter I denie not, but you must vnderstande, Madame, that they had bene preaching in the cart, and were apprehended before this letter came to my handes. But what could I doo withall, if Maister Copinger did write thus vnto me? It is knowne he did write letters to other maner of men then I: I confesse, hee did wonderfullie seeke me, and laboure to haue drawne me to the bent of his bowe. And albe it I may truly say that his vn sensible perswasions had neuer anie taste or relish in my breast, neither did I euer feelee so much as anie inclination to bee drawne away by him, yet doo I not, nor dare I not attribute

but the least parte of this resistance to mine own strength, because the Lorde might iustlie haue giuen me ouer to a weaker assault then this, if it had pleased him. But what will Maister *Sutcliffe* make of this? *Copinger* wrote vnto me twice or thrice. True, I denie it not, and good leaue haue he to make his advantage of it, let him hardlie presse it and straine it to th' vttermoſt, it shall not offende me. What then? Why then, forsooth he concludeth, that *Throk.* is not onelie an accessarie and a concealer of their treacherous practises, but also a principall actor in the Pagent, and deeply guiltie of the conspiracie.

This hauling consequent Meane to be refuted by Maister *Sutcliffe* him selfe, when he is sober and not all out so distempered as it may be he was when he wrote the booke. He knowes well enough it were great pitie that all they that wrote and receyued letters from *Copinger*, or had anie conference with him, or anie view of *Hacker*, should forthwith be reputed traitors and conspirators for that. For the rest I would Maister *Sutcliffe* knewe, that I holde it not onelie lawfull but euen my bounden dutie to reveale anie practise or treason intended against my Soveraine, and that of conscience, if there were no lawe to binde me too it but the lawe of God. Of which sinne, I hope, I may without offence pleade guiltlesse, not onelie before men, but (for anie thing I knowe) before the tribunall seate of Christ.

And if probable collections bee in the eyes of indifferent Judges of as great force for a mans clearing and defence as they are for a mans guiltinesse and condemnation, then mine innocencie, I hope (though it bee neuer so much shotte at by the darts of envenomed mouthes) shall yet by Gods assistance, escape untouched and vbleamished in the ende.

If anie man should demande (sayeth Arthington) why
did not Maister Snelche intended vnder his protestes against
the Quene and the State, saying her was knowne to bee a for-
rer, and condemned for high treason against her Maiesie truelie,
as I meane to be saved at the last day, both these matters were un-
knowne to me so long as he lived, and so Maister Copinger too, as
I thinke. Neither was I ever any further acquainted with anie vi-
sions or speeches touching the separation, then it before in this case
is declared, &c. Therefore as on the one side, I should deeply of-
fende the Maiesie of God, if I should conceale any daunger in-
ded against her Maiesie (falling within the compasse of my know-
ledge.) So should I displease the Lorde on the other side, by spea-
king more then a truth of which I was sure, it of the Quene him-
selfe, protesting thus much in the presence of God, that if I were
privie to one word spoken against her Maiesie, &c.

Arth. Au-
duc. and
repent.
pag. 21.

This booke of Arthington, Madame, hath, wee see,
th'allowance and approbation of the State. And if hee
that was one of the three, naming him selfe the prophet
of iudgement, so manie times conversant with *Hacker*, as
well in prayer as in conference, be thus publiclie clea-
red by his protestation, and that taken and accepted of
for payment, It goeth harde, me thinkes, that another
man, that neuer saw *Hacker* but once in his life, that wrote
and laboured to Maister Copinger to desist, as one alto-
gether distasted with his courses, should not haue the same
libertie to pawne his protestation for his defence.

If then Maister Snelche, or anie of his humours doe aske
of *Iob Throk*, why he did not reueale the treasons & pra-
ctises of *Hacker* and his accomplices, he answereth in a
worde (and that with protestation before the Lorde of
heaven and earth) Because he knewe not of anie, neither ever
heard so much as the least woise or sawnde of anie. And that
Maister Snelche him selfe (for anie thing he knowes) was
full as gullie, and euerie way as accessarie to those con-

but the least parte of this resistance to mine own strength, because the Lorde might iustlie haue giuen me ouer to a weaker assault then this, if it had pleased him. But what will Maister *Sutcliffe* make of this? *Copinger* wrote vnto me twice or thrice. True, I denie it not, and good leaue haue he to make his advantage of it, let him hardlie presse it and straine it to th' vttermoſt, it shall not offende me. What then? Why then, forsooth he concludeth, that *Throk.* is not onelie an accessarie and a concealer of their treacherous practises, but also a principall actor in the Pagent, and deeply guiltie of the conspiracie.

This hauling consequent I leaue to be refuted by Maister *Sutcliffe* him selfe, when he is sober and not all out so distempered as it may be he was when he wrote the booke. He knowes well enough it were great pitie that all they that wrote and receyued letters from *Copinger*, or had anie conference with him, or anie view of *Hacker*, should forthwith be reputed traitors and conspirators for that. For the rest I would Maister *Sutcliffe* knewe, that I holde it not onelie lawfull but euen my bounden dutie to reueale anie practise or treason intended against my Soveraine, and that of conscience, if there were no lawe to binde me too it but the lawe of God. Of which sinne, I hope, I may without offence pleade guiltlesse, not onelie before men, but (for anie thing I knowe) before the tribunall seate of Christ.

And if probable collections bee in th'eies of indifferent Iudges of as great force for a mans clearing and defence as they are for a mans guiltinesse and condemnation, then mine innocencie, I hope (though it bee neuer so much shotte at by the dartes of envenomed mouthes) shall yet by Gods assistance, escape vntouched and vblearnished in the ende.

Is amie

If anie man should demande (sayeth Arthington) why did not M^{rs} Hacket intended with M^{rs} Sauscliff against the Queen, and the State, seeing her was knowne to bee a forer, and condemned for high treason against her Maies^{tie} true liege, and meane to be saved at the last day, both these matters were unknowne to M^{rs} Sauscliff and her, and to M^{rs} Sauscliff too. As I thinke. Neither was I ever any farther acquainted with anie vision or speech touching the execution, then I desire in subtilty is declared, &c. Therefore as on the one side, I should deeply offend the Maies^{tie} of God, if I should conceale any danger intended against her Maies^{tie} (falling within the compass of my knowledge) so should I displease the Lorde on the other side, by speaking more then a truth of anie yed merit of the Devil himselfe, promising thus much in the presence of God, that if I were privie to one, will worde spoken against her Maies^{tie}, &c.

Arth. Reduc. and repent. pag. 21.

This booke of Arthington, Madame, hath, yee see, thallowance and approbation of the State. And, if hee that was one of the three, naming him selfe this prophet of iudgement, so many times conversant with Hacket, as well in prayer as in conference, hath thus publickly cleared by his protestation, and that taken and accepted of for payement, It groweth harde, me thinkes, that another man, that neuer saw Hacket but once in his life, that wrote and laboured with M^{rs} Sauscliff to defile, as one altogether distasted with his courses, should not have the same libertie to pawne his protestation for his defence.

If then M^{rs} Sauscliff, or anie of his humour doo aske of Iob Throk. why he did not reneale the reasons & practices of Hacket and his accomplices, he answereth in a worde (and that with protestation before the Lorde of heauen and earth) because he knewe not of anie, neither ever heard so much as the least woiffe or saunde of anie. And that M^{rs} Sauscliff him selfe (for anie thing he knowes) was full as gullie, and euerie way as accessarie to those con-

spiracies as he. *Althow* he *discovered* *many* *times* *that* *he* *did* *not* *reueale* *so* *much* *as* *he* *knew*, *namelic* *of* *their* *prayers*, *imprecations*, *and* *supposed* *revelations*?

He answereth, that the same reason that moued that honorable Countesse to deteine still in her handes Mai. *Copingers* letter vnto her Maiestie, without deliuerie, namelic, that there was no grounde of his information, but only his phansie, moued also *Throk.* not to make the Magistrate acquainted with anie of those toyes and fooleries, without some better grounde: thinking them altogether vnworthie of their presence & cares, and fearing (vnlesse he would haue foreseene into th'event aforehande) that he had bene liker a great deale (for troubling their Honors with such a headlesse information) to haue bin rather returned home againe as wise as he came, with some checke or reproche for his follie, then with anie thanke or rewarde for his paines.

Touching *Martin*, whatsoeuer it please Ma. *Satchesse* to say, I hope those that are in Authoritie, & Ma. *Satchesses* betters, are sufficienlie perswaded of mine innocencie that way. And seeing the gentleman hath giuen him selfe a commission to speake his pleasure of my betters, there is good reason that so meane a man as I should allow him a litle to speake *per Hyperbolen, or licentia poetica*, as he doeth of Maister *Carr*, when he chargeth him with th'execution of his brother *Smabber* his (-) will, a thing that I haue heard him say he neuer dealt in in anie sorte, in all his life. And I doe the rather beleeue it, in that in one of his bookes he bringeth testimonie (as I remember) out of one of th'auncient Fathers, that it is either vnmete or vnlawfull for a Minister of the worde, to be so much as an Executor, much lesse that he should be encombred with anie ciuill office. And such another like tale is that of the sale of his cotaige, and the purchase of his three or foure

(a) He is not so much as once named in his will.

ma-

manours: which is so apparant a slander, as I doubt not but he may be convinced by hundreds that are yet aliue, and I thinke fewe of his owne side so immodest to beleue it. As for my selfe and his charge of *Martinisme*, if Maister *Sutcliffe* were the man that had neuer tolde vntueth in his life, I could easilie in this case (if need were) make some advantage of him for my clearing & defence. For though in one of his *Queres* pag. 202. he lay all vppon me, I thanke him, *Theſas, Proteſtations, Dialogues, & all* (and so to speake the trueth, he may as well all as one) yet in his better moode, when it may be, hee had slept better all night, he franklie cleareth me againe, disburdeninge me of that charge, and letteth not to say, pag. 78. that the noble *Martin* was *Iohn Perry, Iohn V. Hall, Iohn Field*, all *Iohns*, sayeth he, as for me he doeth but bring me in at the later ende as a candle holder: and no more in deede I am not, in regard of some of those Reuerend men.

But because, Madame, I am to render accompt of my dooings before other manner of men then Maister *Sutcliffe*. Seeing an oth (as th' Apostle sayeth) ought to bee th' ende of all strife, I will for my finall clearing heerein (when so euer it shall be thought so good by the State) willinglie take this oth, as I haue heeretofore offered, to witte, *That I am not Martin, I knewe not Martin, And concerning that I stande endighted of, I am as cleare as the childe vnborne.*

For the rest, that I liue vnder a most gracious Princessse and a mercifull gouernement, I were greatlie to blame, if I would not in all humbleness acknowledge: and if I haue not bene thankfull to God for it, my sinne sure hath bene the greater. But what Prince and gouernement liueth Maister *Sutcliffe* vnder, trowe you? If it be the same that I liue vnder (and I hope howe farre so euer hee hath traueled, he hath none other) then, if I be not deceiued,

THE DEFENCE OF JOHN THROKEMORTON

Somewhat hee hath some charter of priuiledge that I
 knowe not of) his hand & recognouissance full as great
 as mine; and he is deeply engaged this way as my selfe.
 And if it be true that a reuerend Iudge in this lande did
 once tell my Lo. Chancelour, that dead is, *That the mat-
 ter of this indignitee that passed against Throk. at Warwicke,*
was in truth but a fruitles matter, and a thing that hee would
effeet auoid. And if it be also true that the saied Lorde
 Chauncelour (who, if I be not deceiued, was able to see
 as farre into a man as Maister Sutcliffe) did saye not onelie
 priuately in his house, but euen to her Maiestie (who
 caused the same to bee signified vnto me, that I might
 therein be thankfull vnto my Lorde) and more then that,
 if the saied Lo. Chauncelour did openlie in Parleament
 (whereof there are yet liuing witnesses enow) pronounce,
 that he knewe the saied *Job Throkemorton to be an honest man:*
 If all these, I say, be true, I thinke I may safelie conclude
 in defence of my selfe against Maister Sutcliffe, the *Preten-
 ded Conspiracie*, and all others, that this sparinge course
 that hath bene hitherto helde with me, hath rather (to
 speake the truth) bene a course of Iustice, then a course of
 mercie. And that if all things be rightly considered, it is a
 farre greater mercie & patience to suffer Ma. Sutcliffe and
 such as he is, thus shamefully to traduce whole Churches
 and to sett his colebrand of infamie vpon the most reue-
 rend men that euer wrote, then to suffer *Job Throkemorton*,
 to goe in peace. Who so long as he hath his owne inno-
 centie and vnguiltinesse for his clearing, maketh no
 doubt (notwithstanding all this racking, wrecasting and
 libelling against him) but he shal haue alwayes the lawes
 of God and her Maiestie for his sufficient shelter and
 defence.

Thus Madame haue I endeauored my selfe in that
 measure I could, to satisfie your earnest request, wherein
 what

what other defectes so euer there bee, I would bee loth; there should be founde attie vntued: if your Honor thinke good to make it knowne abroade to others, I am not against it: Seeing my defacing hath bene publike, I hope no man will blame me, if I desire that my clearing might also be publicke. The blotte and blemish of my good name, hath bene, as you see, publiklie spread and proclaimed, as it were, ouer the whole lande, and my selfe no lesse wounded then in capite, that is in my allegiance to my Prince, and I by this their wrestling, curtayling, and implying, made little better then a traytor and conspiratour in theies of the worlde. A thing that, if I remember my selfe well, ought, no doubt, to humble me and pull me downe (if it were possible) to the verie centre of th'earth. In which regarde when I looke backe to the sinnes of my former life, I must needes acknowledge it, to be iust with God, howe so euer it bee vnrighteous with men. I knowe right well, Madame, what the Prophet Dauid did in like case, who when he was reuiled and nailed vppon by *Shimei*, did neither frette at this nor at that, as commonlie men doo, nor yet looke vppon the person or vilenesse of the man, with any frowning aspect or reuengefull countenance, but on the contrarie did soorthwith cast his eyes ~~up~~ to heauen, acknowledging it to be the hande of the great God, and to be his dooing: *He confesseth, sayeth he, euen because the Lorde hath bidden him curse Dauid, &c.* I confesse, Madame, I ought to be thus affected too, if I were as I should be: But fallinge short of this, my onelic desire (if it might be) for all the malice I beare to Maister *Sutcliffe* is this, that in this case I might be credited, and he not. And I thinke, Madame, I haue reason to desire it. In deede if I came to appeach or accuse, there were some reason for a person of your place to make a pause, and not to be ouerswift in lending an
care

THE DISCOURSE OF JOHN TROCKE

Forasmuch as he hath some charter of privilege that I
 knowe nor of) his hand & recognoissanc is full as great
 as mine; and he is deeply engaged this way as my selfe.
 And if it be true that a reverend Iudge in this lande did
 once tell my Lo. Chancelour, that dead is, *I hat the mat-
 ter of this indignitee thus passed against Trocke at Warwicke,
 was in truth but a fruitless matter, and a thing that hee would
 effeet undoed.* And if it be also true that the saied Lorde
 Chauncelour (who, if I be not deceived, was able to see
 as farre into a man as Maister Sutcliffe) did saye not onelie
 privately in his house, but even to her Maiestie (who
 caused the same to bee signified vnto me, that I might
 therein be thankfull vnto my Lorde) and more then that,
 if the saied Lo. Chauncelour did openlie in Parleament
 (whereof there are yet liuing witnessen enow) pronounce,
that he knew the saied Job Trockemorton to be an honest man.
 If all these, I say, be true, I thinke I may safelie conclude
 in defence of my selfe against Maister Sutcliffe, the *Preten-
 ded Conspiracie*, and all others, that this sparinge course
 that hath bene hitherto helde with me, hath rather (to
 speake the truth) bene a course of Iustice, then a course of
 mercie. And that if all things be rightly considered, it is a
 farre greater mercie & patience to suffer Ma. Sutcliffe and
 such as he is, thus shamefully to traduce whole Churches
 and to sett his colebrand of infamie vpon the most reve-
 rend men that euer wrote, then to suffer *Job Trockemorton*,
 to goe in peace. Who so long as he hath his owne inno-
 cencie and vnguiltinesse for his clearing, maketh no
 doubt (notwithstanding all this racking, wresting and
 libelling against him) but he shal haue alwayes the lawes
 of God and her Maiestie for his sufficient shelter and
 defence.

Thus Madam I endeoured my selfe in that
 measure I could, to satisfie your earnest request, wherein
 what

what other defects so euer there bee, I would bee loth; there should be founde anie vntruedh: if your Honor thinke good to make it knowne abroade to others, I am not against it: Seeing my defacing hath bene publike, I hope no man will blame me, if I desire that my clearing might also be publicke. The blotte and blemish of my good name, hath bene, as you see, publiklie spread and proclaimed, as it were, ouer the whole lande, and my selfe no lesse wounded then in capite, that is in my allegiance to my Prince, and I by this their wrestling, curtayling, and implying, made little better then a traytor and conspiratour in theies of the worlde. A thing that, if I remember my selfe well, ought, no doubt, to humble me and pull me downe (if it were possible) to the verie centre of th'earth. In which regarde when I looke backe to the sinnes of my former life, I must needes acknowledge it, to be iust with God, howe so euer it bee vnrighteous with men. I knowe right well, Madame, what the Prophet Dauid did in like case, who when he was reviled and railed vppon by *Shimei*, did neither frette at this nor at that, as commonlie men doo, nor yet looke vppon the person or vilenesse of the man, with any frowning aspect or reuengefull countenance, but on the contrarie did soorthwith cast his eyes ~~up~~ to heauen, acknowledging it to be the hande of the great God, and to be his dooing: *He himselfe sayeth he, euen because the Lorde hath bidden him curse Dauid, &c.* I confesse, Madame, I ought to be thus affected too, if I were as I should be: But fallinge short of this, my onelic desire (if it might be) for all the malice I beare to Maister *Sutcliffe* is this, that in this case I might be credited, and he not. And I thinke, Madame, I haue reason to desire it. In doede if I came to appeach or accuse, there were some reason for a person of your place to make a pawse, and not to be ouer swift in lending an
care.

care vnto me. But comming as I doo, in defence of th' innocent, & to saue the guiltlesse from obloquie & sleaunder, me thinks I may by all lawes Heathen and Christian (and that without offence) chalenge as it were a day of favourable hearing & credence before mine aduersarie.

I remember the fellons and malefactours standing at the barre, one of the last thinges that the Iudge doeth aske of them before he procede to sentence is this: *What hast thou to say for thy selfe, why thou mayest not haue iudgement, &c.* I could wishe Madame, and my humble sute vnto your Honor, and to all others that shall reade these printed accusations against me, is, that ye would in this case playe still th' vpright Iudges with me, and asoord me but that fauour, which is not denied, you see, to verie thieves and felons at the barre, namelic, that yee would not passe anie resolute sentence of credite or condemnation against me, before you haue made enquire, *What Throkemorton can saye for him selfe, why he may not bee reputed a Traytour and Conspiratour as well as Hacket.* And if I may be but thus charitably dealt with, that is, if none of these slaunders may make anie impression against me in the breastes and conceites of men, before I bee duellie and patientlie heard what I can say for my selfe, assure your selfe, Madame, I will neuer craue a Psalme of *Miserere* for my deliuerance while I liue. But rather, if I bee asked what I haue to say for my selfe, I will by Gods grace, saye, euen as I haue sayed, and is heere already layed downe to your La. in all plainenesse, and trueth, which I hope is sufficient to cleare me in the face of anie righteous Iudge vnder heauen.

Th' issue therefore of the whole is this, that when things haue bene neuer so much wrenched and writhed, yea and as it were strangelic tenter stretched against me, to bring me not onely in disgrace, but in question of my life,

life: Yet if euer it bee prooued, Madame, by anie acte,
witnesse, or recorde vnder the sunne, that *Throk*. was a-
nie wayes accessarie, weeting, priue or consenting to a-
nie of those vile practises of *Hacker*, and his accomplices:
Nay more, not onelie in this, but in any other action,
attempte or consultation whatsoeuer, if, I say, it may be
prooued that euer he had anie hande in anie vngodlie
practise against his dreade Souueraigne, from the begin-
ning of the worlde to this daye, he craueth none other
fauour, then to be made a publicke spectacle, and a no-
table example of iustice to all posteritie. Nay hee sayeth
further in his owne clearing and defence, that if his verie
harte were arraigned in the presence of God and men,
he may safelie protest, that he is so farre from being
guiltie of that wherewith he is thus wrongfullie
and iniuriousslie slaundered, that he is not pri-
uie to him self of so much as anie felonious
or deloiall thought of her Ma-
iestie. If he be, let him not
die the death of the
righteous.

J. Throkorton.